1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

121 the allocation of members in a genealogy to a socially and culturally recognized kin
60 group. This may include the same persons as a genealogical group, or it may in-
61 clude only part of them.

(c) Affinal relations—the links between individuals which are based upon marriage through the socially recognized union of a husband and wife.

601 The Kanuri separate genealogical relations from those of descent just as we
602 do by speaking of distant relations. They have a special word for such people, although many younger people today do not use it, and simply describe such people as "distant" or "far away" in the same way that Kano is far away from Maiduguri. The traditional word refers to a vine that grows around a household wall and then continues to reach out and grow on the walls of adjoining households. However the vines all stem from one root, just as an expanded genealogical tree can be viewed as coming from one man and his wife or wives. These distant kin do not attend one another's family ceremonies or send gifts on important occasions. Indeed their whereabouts are often not very well known to the person speaking of them. Many Kanuri can give quite a large number of such kin especially in their parents' generation, their own, and that of their children. On the other hand, like Americans, they find it difficult to remember relatives back beyond their grandparents even though there is a special kinship term for great-grandparents, and only a few people can name the brothers and sisters of their grandparents. Exceptions to this occur in increasing degree as families become more and more aristocratic. Such families retain the memory of important male ancestors in their genealogy much further back than do ordinary people; indeed they often maintain special persons to keep the memory alive.

601 Set into the genealogy of any Kanuri individual is his own descent group.
611 In anthropological jargon—used because once understood, it is technically efficient —this group is reckoned cognatically with an agnatic emphasis. That is to say, Kanuri descent groups are based upon an individual's relation to persons through both his father and mother (cognatic relationships); and a person feels equally related to all of his four grandparents. However there is an emphasis placed upon those related to a person through males only (agnatic or patrilineal descent) for a number of important activities. The father's cognatic descent group is called the family of the blood, and the mother's cognatic group is the family of the milk, while the word "family" (*dur*) refers to both father's and mother's side of the family. Other evidence for the cognatic quality can be seen in the words used for various relatives in the descent group. There are no distinctions between mother's side and father's side in the terms for great-grandparent and grandparent, and although there are significant differences in the terms used to refer to relatives of the parent's generation level, cousins on both mother's and father's sides can be lumped under one term, which is the same as the one used to refer to a brother or a sister. On the other hand, there are differences between the mother's and the father's side which we refer to as an agnatic emphasis.

611 This emphasis can be easily seen in inheritance and when a man goes to
671 court. The Kanuri follow Islamic inheritance law in which men receive two por-
428 tions to every one given to a woman. Thus it is twice as important to be related to
562 your father as your mother, if everything else is equal, such as the amount of wealth
578 to be inherited and so on. These rules of inheritance are followed very closely in

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These rules of inheritance are followed very closely in practice, because everyone knows that any dispute over inheritance that cannot be settled amicably between the surviving relatives goes to court—and the court normally takes ten percent of the estate for its adjudication services in an inheritance dispute. When a man is called into the courts, and most Kanuri have been to court at some time in their lives, he must go with his agnates—his father, paternal grandfather, father's brothers, sons, father's brother's sons, and any other male he can muster who is related to him in the male line. This agnatically related group is legally responsible as a whole for the acts of each of its members unless a crime against the state has been committed. A Kanuri who is threatened immediately thinks of this group as the one that he can turn to for help. As we shall see later the group often lives close together so that the agnates are neighbors as well as a corporate group in the eyes of the law. They help one another in many day-to-day activities, perform ceremonies together, and often practice the same or closely related occupations.

Although there is an emphasis on a person's agnates, his kin relations through his mother are also quite important. People who have no matrilateral kin (those related to a person through the mother), or very few of them, are considered to be unfortunate because they lack that much warmth and affection in their lives. These kin, say the Kanuri, love you like a mother loves her child. You can feel at home with them in a way that is less conflict-ridden than any other kinship relation. People often said that if they had to borrow money it was better to go to mother's kin first before asking anyone related to them agnatically. There is always some tension over property among an agnatic descent group because it is the major one for purposes of inheritance, family wealth, and privileges. People say that if a man borrows from his father or his father's brothers, or his brothers, or his patrilateral cousin, he is trying to get his inheritance or that of his brothers before the proper time. Furthermore, the responsibility in court, and in the eyes of public opinion, of one agnate for another also increases the tensions in this group as compared to the matrilateral one. By contrast, however, a man with no agnates is not just unfortunate—he is a social outcast. He has no group to stand up for him as a result of his birth into society; he has no legal right to a father's inheritance, he is thought of as an outcast, he must rely solely on his wits, and he cannot easily be trusted.

A village area chief and his advisers declared that I should not hire a certain man and claimed that they were going to see to it that I certainly did not take him into my household. They told me that no one in the vicinity knew his brothers or his father, or his father's brothers, or indeed if he had any, or where they might be, and he would not volunteer any information on the subject. In their eyes he was not a responsible person, and if he did anything wrong there was no group they could call into account for it. Unless he could attach himself to a household, he simply had no means of achieving an accepted position in the community, and the village leaders did not like the idea of making me, a European stranger, responsible for this unknown man.[1] Obviously under such circumstances illegitimate

[1] This would mean that as his household head I must appear in court if and when he did something wrong. The local leaders did not believe they could require this responsibility from me, and were thus faced with the problem of allowing into their community a man for whom no one could vouch, yet giving him a paid place in one of its wealthiest households.

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price at this time of year for nearly everything, including weddings and bride-wealth, goes up.

When all the exchanges are completed everyone participating in a wedding gets some present of money, food, and clothing. The *luwali,* especially at first marriages, gets the bulk of the bridewealth and distributes the rest to the girl's family both on her mother's and her father's side. After the first marriage the girl tends to keep more and more of the bridewealth for herself, giving the *luwali* what amounts to a fee for serving as the official bride-giver. It is also important to note that when there are disputes between a husband and wife, the first person to whom both turn for arbitration is the *luwali.*

The Kanuri think of getting married in several ways. First of all they divide all marriages into first marriages (to take a girl or a small girl), and secondary marriages with a divorced woman (to take a woman or to take a divorced woman). First marriages take place for a girl around the time of puberty, while boys do not marry until they are in their late teens or early twenties, and young men of twenty-eight and twenty-nine who have not yet been married are not hard to find.

An interesting sidelight on marriage with previously unmarried young girls is the ambivalence men feel about it. Men obtain much prestige from such a marriage. But its cost invariably puts a man into great debt, and consummation of the marriage itself, traditionally, is a semi-public affair in which old women related to the girl sit outside the marriage hut and whisper to their newly-wed relative that she must resist the advances of her husband. They do this until very late at night or until they are given some proof of the girl's virginity by the husband. They then make a fearful clatter in the town or village to announce the premarital chastity of their young relative. Standards of personal appearance and sexual attraction are important to Kanuri men and center on more sexually mature women. Such standards deal with hair style, facial symmetry, type of walk, and other physical attributes and skills, as well as ability at wifely chores. None of these attributes are in any degree well-developed among young girls, so that the man must control himself and almost publicly proclaim his manhood and sexual prowess with a young girl who is not defined as sexually exciting by the culture. This causes much anxiety and I have seen men praying almost continually for several weeks in order to gain the strength to carry out a virgin's consummation. It is important to note that when some western educated Kanuri talk about marriage they immediately fasten on this semi-public consummation of the girl's first marriage as a custom that will be dropped in the future, and certainly one they do not intend to carry out or even allow in their lives. From the girl's point of view, as education in western-style schools becomes more common and the length of time in school increases, then the time of first marriage for the girls will move ahead. At present however there are only a handful of Kanuri girls who attend schools beyond the age of traditional marriage.

But what is the basis for the conflict? Why are men willing to suffer to gain such an unattractive wife? Men always explain it in the same way. A young girl has never been touched sexually by other men; he is the first; he can train her as he likes, and teach her to be a proper wife to suit his own personal wishes. Besides, it is a good Muslim custom, they always add, as they do about almost every custom when they are asked. In this case they are correct, for such young marriages are very

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rare circumstances women themselves initiate the proceedings by announcing the divorce, although this is usually done with a circumlocution such as when she says, as one woman did, "There is nothing holding us together but these gifts that you have given me. Take them. I wish to go."

About eighty to ninety percent of all marriages end in divorce, probably because it is such a simple affair. The husband in most cases simply tells the wife to go, saying "I divorce you." He does not say it three times, as is usual in Islamic countries, because the wife may return, for the Kanuri practice of Muslim marriage is such that, after saying "I divorce you," three times there should be no reconciliation or remarriage. Once a pronouncement of divorce has been made the woman leaves her husband's household and the marriage enters a special hundred-day period in which the woman cannot remarry although the man may do so. This is defined as a waiting period to see whether or not the woman is pregnant so that the man can claim the child. The woman generally returns to her *luwali* at this time and there is always some negotiation between the man and the *luwali* to see whether or not the marriage can be patched up. About one-third of all divorce pronouncements do end in reconciliation even though the husband most often divorces her again later on. It is interesting to note that unlike western society, practically no Kanuri divorce cases (perhaps one percent) go to the courts; thus it is impossible to get the records of divorce except through field study of actual cases.

When a divorce occurs children remain with their father unless they are still nursing. After nursing they are generally sent back to the father's household, although the period is sometimes stretched out for young girls who are trained by their mothers. Children of broken unions are cared for by a father's co-wife or by some other close relative of the father. Contacts with a divorced parent are always maintained and the child visits his or her mother regularly. This is especially true for boys who expect to take care of their mother when she is an elderly unmarried woman. Conflicts sometimes arise because a man's daughter does not return and the mother's relatives or one of her subsequent husbands might try to arrange a marriage without consulting her own father. If such consultations take place, however, no one feels put out and the man who arranged the marriage takes a portion of the bridewealth in payment.

Each spouse in a marriage maintains very close contacts with his or her own relatives. Presents are exchanged and visits back and forth between members of kin groups are very common. Children are named after relatives, especially grandparents, and in many cases go to live with them after weaning, or before the birth of a new baby in the family. Only in cases of long term marriage does a wife finally come to feel a part of and fully accepted by her husband's family. However when this does happen the wife can become a very powerful voice in the family, and her long and intimate association with her husband often means that she has become a permanent authority in the household. In one such case a senior wife had never been married to anyone else and had been married to her husband, a powerful man in the village, for thirty years. The man remarked that he made very few decisions without consulting this woman, and people recognized that she had a powerful position in village affairs. Such cases, however, are not common. Kanuri marriage involves a separation of the sexes not only by custom and tradition but as a result of the conflicts in marriage relations which produce tensions between husbands and

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593 wives and thus lead to frequent divorce. In such circumstances a close intimate relationship between husband and wife is a victory of personality over social and cultural conditions in the society.

Other Family Relations and the Behavior Norms

593 602 571 829 867 To the Kanuri themselves, family relations—those between parents and children, between siblings, uncles and nephews, grandparents and grandchild, between one in-law and another and so on—are part of a larger framework of behavior governing almost all the important relations between persons and groups in the society. The Kanuri believe that these relations originate in the family where the person first learns them and are then extended outwards to include all of the important social relations of adult life. From the anthropologist's point of view it is impossible to say which comes first. Do the family relations create or cause those social relations which best suit them, or does the society outside the family create the kind of family relations required by the society at large? Whatever the answer, the Kanuri are quite clear on this point. They believe that the rules governing social relations in the family and household are the essential guides to the successful operation of the larger scaled organizations in the economic and political life of their society. Thus many social relations in Bornu have a kin-like quality or are spoken of using the idiom of kinship, even though the persons involved clearly recognize that they have no kinship with one another through genealogical, descent group, or affinal relations.

593 571 779 The most important of these relations is the *bərzum* or discipline-respect relationship closely modelled on, and usually spoken of in terms of, the father-son relationship. In this relationship a father gives his son protection, security, food and shelter, a place or status in the community, an occupation, helps him to arrange a marriage, and represents him in the adjudication of disputes. In his turn the son must be completely loyal, obedient and subserviant to his father, and work for him [861] in whatever way the father feels is necessary. This respect is so demanding a mode of behavior in families that young children are sometimes sent away to a relative's household, usually to a grandparent, and return as one infomant put it, "when they [602] understand respect." When the father dies, an older brother or a paternal uncle may take the place of the father as head of the household. He then receives the same respect from the dead man's children. This is so because they are older men with authority in the household. Thus all senior relatives, older siblings, and paternal uncles receive respect, and although it may not have the intense quality of the father-son relationship to begin with, everybody knows they may have to treat such a [867] person as if he were a father under certain circumstances. Besides this, a young [561] child is taught that in general older people are to be respected, no matter what their sex or degree of relationship to oneself. Other persons in society are indicated as being "like your father" or "greater than your father" in the amount of discipline and respect that they require. Religious specialists, political leaders, and any compound head with whom a person is staying are all in this category. In other words, the father-son behavior norm is the model used by the people themselves to describe the nature of all authority relations in the society

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

Daughters are taught in the same way, but they must give great heed to their mothers who are, in a day-to-day sense, the authority figures in their lives. Although men will respond to questions by saying they have similar discipline and respect for both their father and mother, there is in addition an emotional quality to the mother-son relationship almost wholly lacking in that between the father and his children. For many Kanuri men this is leavened by the high divorce rate that separates them from a continual long-term association with their mothers. But for those who have had consistent long-term associations with their mothers this can be the strongest emotional relationship of an entire lifetime. Thus one young man resigned from a salaried job suddenly one day because, as he said, "I wanted to see my mother and felt she was too far away."

Discipline-respect relationships are qualified by another mode of behavior called *nungu*, or shame-avoidance. This means that the persons in the relationship, especially the junior, must be subdued, self-controlled and constantly be restricted in his behavior to very limited traditional patterns. In the extreme, people who have *nungu* relationships would not eat together from the same bowl, as friends do, and only the most necessary conversation passes between them, while the junior keeps his eyes lowered and is in no way informal. This is best seen when a very friendly person is suddenly confronted with, or is observed with, his own father. His jocularity suddenly disappears; he becomes extremely serious and humble, and never speaks until spoken to unless he has a particular message he has been commissioned to bring. Even then he will wait until asked to state the meassage.

Within the kinship system the epitomy of the *nungu* relationship is that of father and son, but other senior men like father's and mother's brothers as well as older brothers may all have some shame-avoidance in their relationship to a young nephew or brother. Such shame-avoidance increases when the age differences are greater, when the wealth and power of the senior is great, and most particularly if the senior has either taken the place of a dead father, or a young man has been sent to live with his senior male relative so that the older brother or uncle is now his compound head. When there are sex differences as well, then *nungu* is less intense within the descent group but more intense with affines to whom it applies. Thus a Kanuri man will tell his mother things he cannot speak of to his father, and generally he can speak more easily to his mother's and his father's sisters than he can to his uncles. However the most abject avoidance is maintained between in-laws of the opposite sex. Such persons would never allow themselves to be alone together; they avoid each other on a path (the woman steps out of the way with eyes downcast), and they would never speak to one another directly. Because Kanuri girls go to live with their husbands, often close to or in the households of their husband's family, then the burden of such avoidances falls on the bride. Only when the wife and husband move to a household of their own at some remove from that of his parents can the intense avoidance and tension generated by strict *nungu* rules between the young girl and her father-in-law be alleviated.

In the wider society there are *nungu* relations as well. Generally speaking, the greater the discipline-respect, the more likely it is to be associated with *nungu* or shame-avoidance. Thus the relationship between a man and his direct superior in a political or economic organization has many elements of *nungu* connected with it. He rarely speaks directly to his superior, they do not have long conversations, he

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

mutters "yes, yes, yes" while his superior is talking but keeps his eyes cast downwards; to very powerful superiors like the Shehu he must not talk directly at all, but to an intermediary. Wives of such persons are treated like senior in-laws. Indeed, given the traditional practice of giving wives to clients, often from among one's own daughters, it is quite possible that the wife of a superior will one day become the mother-in-law of a client subordinate.

As a person grows up in his family, he also learns that there are some people with whom he can have very permissive relations. The ideal person is a grandparent, although a similar relationship exists between a spouse and all of his younger in-laws. A young boy can go to his grandfather's house and take things, pull his grandfather's beard, and generally misbehave, all the while receiving only a pat on the head for such licentiousness. Sex differences do not count here although there is sexual joking especially in the relations between a person and a junior in-law of the opposite sex. Later in life young boys and girls learn that such joking (*suli*) is a special form of interaction that can also be carried out between traditionally competitive occupational groups and traditionally hostile ethnic groups. On an individual basis one person in such a relationship calls the other "grandson" and the "grandson," being the younger, calls the older man "grandfather." The Kanuri explain that this helps to alleviate any tensions which may develop between the persons in such groups who are natural competitors or by tradition hostile to one another.

Finally, in the extended family and the household a young person grows up with brothers, sisters, and cousins who are also called siblings. The closer the age and interests of "siblings" of the same sex, the greater the solidarity and friendship. During childhood the young person usually chooses a young age-mate from amongst his siblings or cousins as his *ashirmanzə* or "secrets man," the person who knows his most intimate thoughts, hopes, and fears. Later in life, he chooses other *ashirmanzə* from inside his kinship network and outside it. He learns the faculty of intimacy, however, in his youthful friendships in the family and the household.

The family and the household then are orbits in which ways of behaving are learned and these characteristic norms of behavior are used for wider-scale social relations throughout the individual's life. At the core of these relations is *bərzum* discipline-respect. As well shall see, Bornu is an interwoven set of economic and political hierarchies, and this relationship of *bərzum* serves as the chief mechanism for the proper functioning of these complex relations between superiors and their subordinates.

The Household

Kinship may form the biological and the behavioral basis for Kanuri society, but it does not provide a place for such relations to operate. The Kanuri live in cities, villages, and hamlets and the basic unit of organization in these settlements is the household, rather than the family or any set of kinship groups. Even though these may be synonymous in some cases, in many compounds family and household are certainly not the same, and the distinction is fundamental to an understanding of the society. Furthermore the household, or compound as it is sometimes called, is stable in comparison to the family. The family can be split, and

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

The important point to be made here is that the Kanuri feel that the bər-*zum*[3] or discipline-respect ingredients of the father-son relationship can be transferred. This does not mean that they forget their own fathers who are their biological kin. However it does mean that they use the norms of the father-son relationship for self-advancement or for relating to other people as they would to their father, in return for those things that they obtain traditionally from a father. Kanuri were always coming to me and addressing me as their father, or asking for a small gift in the hope that they might repay me with some discipline and respect and begin initiating a *tada njima* role for themselves with me as their *abba njima*. However, there is more to initiating the role than simply asking me for a gift or doing a service. In order for it to work there must be *aman* or trust. A man must know when he brings a client into his household that he will try to behave like a son. Even then he waits patiently and watches to see how firm and fast the professed loyalty really is. Most Kanuri say that a year is not too long a period to wait while testing out the strength of such a relationship before actually giving the person (the *tada njima*) some real responsibilities from which both the household head and the client might gain.

This means of adding to a household can produce very extensive groupings under the proper conditions. If a man has a powerful political post, either in the traditional or modern post-colonial administration, his activities in trade, farming, tax collection, or adjudication means that he can use a large following of loyal and obedient clients. The transferability of the father-son relationship allows men to build up such organizations whenever they have the means to maintain them. Kanuri judge success in life not by wealth or power per se, but by the size of a man's following. And the best indication of this is the size of the household and those related households over which he has some control. Thus great households, the greatest of which is that of the Shehu of Bornu, form the upper class group of Kanuri society. Wealthy traders have many *tada njima* who, after their loyalty has been proven, are given goods and money to go out and trade for their superiors. Bornu society is such that powerful men, indeed any man wishing to raise his status, require loyal followers and clients who use the ingredients of the father-son relationship to define their interpersonal relations. Certainly many of the people a man may depend upon are members of his own descent group, but kinsmen differ from clients in a number of important respects. Kinsmen may profit not only by one another's success, but through inheritance they also gain by each other's death. Or if a particular prerogative, say access to political office of some kind, resides in one male line, then an office-holder's male relatives may profit from his dismissal since one of them may be considered as a replacement. Furthermore relationships based on descent cannot be broken completely—some mutual dependence always remains—even though a superior dislikes the services of his descent group member who is serving as his subordinate. Clientship is more rational in this respect since clients can in effect be "fired" for poor performance of their duties. Thus clientship, represented by the *tada njima* relationship, is a flexible and useful tool in the building of Kanuri households and even larger social groupings.

Finally it is important to remember that all of these important relationships are basically those within a household. This is the stage upon which family life

[3] The letter ɔ is pronounced as the "oo" in "look" or "book."

592 Relationships within the household are patterned after kinship
[602] relations, and kinship terminology is used in referring to these relations, but kinship is not the basis for establishing these relationships in the first place. The household is a corporate group, in that its membership is clearly defined, it operates with common interests of the group in mind, and the household group is itself structured and dependent upon the fulfillment of mutual obligations. In this sense, the household group among the Kanuri is functionally very similar to the corporate kin group in a society with unilineal descent.

The household is made up of all those individuals living within compound walls; the physical definition of the compound
[594] corresponds to the social unit of the household. A household may be as small as two people--husband and wife, and in a statistical sense the commonest type of household is made up of
592 the nuclear family. It was noted that in the small villages
369 wealth differences between various members of a village were
565 slight, and consequently polygamy tends to be rare. It follows,
[595] too, that under those circumstances the household is small, usually no larger than the nuclear family. In the larger towns, households may be very large, since households vary directly in size with the wealth and social class of the household head. Many of the factors which enter into the growth of a man's household concern the system of social stratification among the Kanuri. Some indication of the nature of social

6. The Web of Kinship.

61 It was noted earlier that, according to Fortes, the rise of the state marks a decline in the importance of corporate descent groups. Fortes cites the Nupe as a case in point. Nadel, who has described the Nupe in detail, has this to say about kinship:

> "Let me say in conclusion that kinship structure in Nupe is not that dominant, all-enveloping structure which we know from many primitive societies. Although it bears upon religious life, education, and the organization of production, it is greatly overshadowed as a determinant of social behavior by the factors of political organization and, in economic life, by economic interests proper."[1]

This is even more true for the Kanuri, who have no kin groups, than it is for the Nupe, who are patrilineal in descent and have
61 patrilineages. The Kanuri recognize kinship as an ever-widen-
• 602 ing network of relationships. Behavior towards one's various relatives is structured and follows cultural rules of respect and joking as the case may be, but, as in most bilateral societies, only the personal kindred exists, definable for any given individual but without the formal properties of a group.

601 The word dur is used in referring to both family and relatives. The Kanuri distinguish between relatives linked through one's mother, referred to as dur chambe(family through milk), and relatives linked through one's father, called dur bube (fam-
602 ily through blood). They say that the dur bube (father's family)
627 is stronger than the dur chambe, and in explanation they offer the following example: if a child is killed by someone, the

1 S. F. Nadel, A Black Byzantium (London: Oxford University Press, 1942), p. 33.

602 627 younger brother (kərami) of the child's father, a relative belonging to the child's dur bube, will avenge the child's death, and under those circumstances the law will not punish the avenger. The kərami of the child's mother will do nothing, for should he avenge the death of his sister's child the law states that he himself may be punished. This seems to be the only case for stating that the dur bube is stronger than the dur chambe.

174 611 It is extremely difficult to reconstruct earlier Kanuri social organization, and to indicate the changes which it has gone through. It is evident however, that patrilineal descent groups were present at the time of the accounts of Barth and Nachtigal, both of whom spent long periods of time with the Kanuri in the nineteenth century. 174 For earlier periods of the history of Bornu, names are given for tribes, and, in the history of federation, conquest and civil strife, these names sometimes have an ethnic or linguistic character; at other times they seem to designate political entities; and again they also resemble clans at times.

192 563 The Kanuri have a word, <u>lili</u>, which means "kind" or "sort", but can be used specifically for "nation," "people," or "kin [101] group." A person's jili would first be given as Kanuri; he would then indicate sub-groups of Kanuri--Kanuri proper, Buduwai, 563 Mobber, Manga, Kwoyam etc. These sub-groups today speak dialects 184 174 of Kanuri which are all mutually intelligible, and no other in- [197] digenous languages. They represent ethnic sub-groups who now share in the same larger culture, but who may have entered Bornu

GEIDAM

796 second day. This is the time for paying the zakat, the alms-
431 tax. Rich men give away clothes and money as sadaka at this
545 time so that they will have good luck. Poor people give away
777 kola nuts and perfume. This is also the time when members of
602 the various jili give small gifts to members of linked jili
796 with whom they have joking relationships (nəngima). As the
789 sun sets on the second day all women bang on their water stor-
793 age pots to drive away the jinn (spirit) who brings sickness.
515 On the second night everyone also bathes. People, women in particular, then go to the houses of Malams where the Malam reads a section of the Koran which is then repeated by those
788 present. The Malam then assigns counting of prayer beads (ta-
535 jimi) for each person. Later in the night dancing is held in
857 a central area, and many guns are discharged. Little boys mill about knocking sparks off smouldering pieces of wood onto other little boys.

782 The last of the important festival days is the Prophet's Birthday, called variously Ngumɔri Kura (great festival), Ngumɔri Kuguibe (kugui means chicken), since chickens are sacrificed at this time, or Mamaludu.

F. Marriage, Family and Household.

128 In the preceding chapter, the general features of Kanuri culture were presented and it was pointed out that this was largely ideal culture. The present chapter, in contrast, deals with a single community and describes behavior as it occurs

In particular, if they marry a zogor they are
586 less likely to have children than if they marry a kalə yaskə.
164
163 This probably accounts for the high birth rate among the Ko-
[192] ranic Malams (one has eight children; one has five); they
have all married kalə yaskəs, so that neither they or their
[565] wives are likely to be infected. On the other hand, in the
[468] lower categories (kabuna, craftsmen, talaka) a majority of
[634] the individuals have had no children at all. Seven of the
eight talaka have no living children. This is the group with
the highest divorce rate, and when they remarry they invari-
ably marry zogors (see Table VIII) so that the chances are
high that either husband or wife will be infected and sterile.

597 Table XIb reveals that eight of the 57 children who sur-
842 vived were given away, and grew up in the household of another
• 602 family. At first, this seems difficult to reconcile with the
great love for children and desire to have children. How-
ever, those who have borne a child have indicated their abil-
ity to bear others. Children are frequently given to relatives
who have no children of their own, and who are probably un-
able to bear children but want a child badly. It may be seen
that children are given away to siblings of the parent, to
the child's grandparent, or to the chibuna after whom the
child has been named. Six of the eight were given immediate-
ly after the child was weaned; two were given away at later
ages. Giving of children at later ages is related to frequent
divorce. Since the child belongs to the father, he may send
the child to his mother or father should he, the father, not
have an adequate home at the time.

Chapter IV [p.50]

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Kinship and Interpersonal Relations

This chapter describes the forms of behaviour which pattern the relationships of people in their day to day lives in Bornu. The model for these patterns is the norm of behaviour governing kinship relations. It should be noted that this is not a theoretical statement but an empirical one which the evidence of this chapter, and those to follow, attempts to bear out.(1)

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Kinship Terminology

In the Kanuri language kinship is referred to as dur. This is a general term that includes ego's father's and mother's consanguinal relations. The system is bilateral in the sense that ego recognizes his descent from, and relation to, two descent systems reckoned through the father and mother of his own father and mother. Thus, ego has his Fa-Mo and Mo-Fa as members of his consanguinal kin group. Dur bube (kin of the blood) refers to father's relatives, and dur chambe (kin of the milk) is the term for mother's relatives.

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The terminology is generational in the sense that all generation levels can be distinguished and classificatory in the sense that one or two terms serve to delineate all of ego's relations at any one generation level, except the first ascendant. At the first ascendant generation parent terms are extended to parents' siblings with suffixes added to delineate junior and senior and there are separate terms for Mo-Bro and Fa-Sis.

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Affinal relations are divided into two categories. The first term, kásai (senior in-laws) refers to ego's spouse's relatives

(1) See the appendix to this chapter for kinship diagrams and a table of Kinship terminology.

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of the first ascendant generation and is sometimes extended to spouse's senior siblings, real and classificatory. The second term tiu (junior in-laws) refers to spouse's collaterals and descendant generation kin members. The terms kàsai and tiu can be used to address all relations by marriage if the speaker so desires. Thus, ego's daughter's husband can be a tiu and the father of this person can be addressed as kàsai. Or again a sibling's spouse can be addressed as tiu and the parents of this person are kàsai. Consanguinal terms are used for spouses of parents' collaterals and a spouse's grandparents are given the same term as own grandparents. However, dur does not apply to affines of any kind unless there has been a nyia durbe (kin marriage), i.e. a cousin marriage.

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For reasons of residence, inheritance and legal responsibility, ties with the father's and mother's kin are of a different kind. The high proportion of patrilocal marriages as well as the differential division of inheritance as between males and females on the one hand and agnatic and uterine kin on the other in Maliki law tends to emphasize the father's agnatic group as the more important.(1) It is also the agnatic kin of the father who go to court to support ego and who help him to pay fines.

[591] [428] [671]

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Terms of reference are most generally formed from the terms of address by adding the possessive pronoun at the end of the word. Thus ya (mother) can be yanyi (my mother) or yanun (your mother) or yanzà (his/her mother). Due to the reciprocal nature of the joking relationship between grandparent and grandchild, the term of address (grandparent speaking) is kaka, and is used reciprocally, while the differentiated term for grandchild (diwo) is used primarily

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(1) Burton, F.H.; Maliki Law, (London) 1914, pp. 373-397.

601 available terminology which distinguishes their actual biological relationship refer back to relatives they have in common when describing or referring to the relationship, pointing out (if necessary) that their mothers' or fathers' are not the same person. This is part of a more general and commonly utilised rule of reference when speaking of kinship relations. In order to specify exactly what relationship exists between himself and some other person an individual most often gives the nearest common relative and then explains his own and the other person's relationship to the common relative. Thus an informant explains that he and his cross or parallel cousin have kakande tile (the same grandparent).

Behaviour Norms

• 602 The behaviour norms associated with the kinship organisation are classified into four overlapping categories. In Kanuri these are called mungu (shame or shame-avoidance), bərzum (respect or discipline-respect), suli (joking) and numkam (friendship or fondness). Table I summarizes the manner in which these norms are distributed among three classes each of consanguinal and affinal kin. (1)

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(1) The information was obtained from 44 Kanuri males of Maiduguri, ranging across all class strata but more heavily representative of the lower classes. They responded to questions about their behaviour towards 33 different kin relations. The interviewer was instructed to ask subjects how they acted towards each of the relatives in question. In the opinion of the field assistant this was in fact the major consideration in the responses given to his questions. This seems to be corroborated when the questionnaire material is compared to qualitative data gathered independently. Other indications that the real rather than ideal culture is being reported are given by the blanks in the original notebooks when informants refused to answer. Their reasons for not responding were written down by the field assistant. In all cases, refusals were due to the subjects not having that particular relative. This supports the notion that informants were responding in reference to their actual behaviour towards the relative being asked about. However, such conclusions must not be taken too far for it is inconceivable that ideal patterns of behaviour had no effect on the responses of

TABLE I

602 Ego's Responses to Categories of Relatives Expressed as a Percentage of his Total Response to the Category*

**	Par. & Par-Coll	Ego's Coll	G/Par & G/G/Par	Affines of Par-Coll	Senior in-laws	Junior in-laws
shame	48.8	5.8	0	26.1	89.8	14.6
respect	82.4	33.8	14.9	97.5	96.4	42.1
joking	1.9	2.4	100.0	0	2.3	66.0
friendship	12.9	76.4	0	7.0	16.6	26.6
total number of responses	262	233	87	157	168	233

* The figures are percentages of the total response; thus 48.8% of the 262 responses given to parents and parents' collaterals were mungu (shame). They have been reduced to percentages in order to make them comparable with other columns in which total responses add up to different numbers.
** Par. = Parents; Coll. = Collaterals.

Shame (mungu)

Mungu is a general category of behaviour which describes relationships that are restricted in some way by rule. Under this general rubric there are two distinct kinds of action which hold for two different categories of relatives. Firstly, shame-avoidance

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informants, especially in the cases of extreme aberrancy (if any such existed). Consequently in order to be as conservative as possible, it would be wise to conclude that the questionnaire material represents an attempt to obtain a picture of real kinship behaviour, which has most likely had its sharply deviant content rounded off by the ideal patterns of the culture.

602 264 Firstly, shame-avoidance whose criterion is whether or not the incumbents may eat food together or in the presence of one another, and secondly, shame-respect wherein food may be shared but ego must sit with eyes downcast and only the most necessary conversation passes between the parties. As a general rule the first holds between affines, although Table I illustrates the variability in this respect, and the second holds among consanguinal kin. There is a strong shame-avoidance relation between ego and his senior in-laws (kàsai);that is to say he will not eat in their presence, and he will not enter a hut alone with any of his female kàsai unless he has been in the habit of doing any of these before marriage.(1) This latter refers to the case of a preferential cousin marriage or marriage with the daughter 606 of a close friend. A polite person (male speaking) would manifest signs of shame-avoidance behaviour, no matter what his previous relationship with his future father-in-law, around the time of the marriage. It is then up to the in-law in question to remind him of their prior relationship and to persuade him that there should be no nungu between them now that they are son-in-law and father-in-law to one another.

593 Ideally, ego should show shame-avoidance in the presence of his wife when they are in public and only the most necessary conversation should pass between them. After many years of marriage or in the case of a barren marriage depending on the wishes of the couple involved, much of the formality of shame-avoidance (except

(1) An upper class informant claimed that a man should never even visit his in-laws alone but should always go in the company of friends.

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604 In qualitative terms the table indicates that there is a relaxation of the shame-respect relation between ego and his parent's generation members of either sex as ego moves outward from own parents to their collaterals. One informant expressed the difference in behaviour towards own parents and their collaterals in the following manner:

> If I have matters to discuss about needing things, I will talk to my father; but if I wish to talk about marrying a girl - I will not talk to my father or my mother - there is shame in this - I will talk to my abagana (Fa-Yo-Bro) or my abakura (Fa-Ol-Bro) if I have one - then I will tell to my sister or my brother (real or classificatory) or my friends to go and tell my father and mother for me. I must never talk directly to my father and my mother about anything about my marriage.

593 After a marriage is joined any trouble between a man and his wife should ideally never get back to a man's parents if the man and his wife are not of the same family. However, such matters can usually be arranged through intermediaries.

• 602 There is a respect relationship between a husband's parents and his wife's parents, with tradition leaning over on the side of the wife's parents as to who receives more respect. That is to say, tradition directs that the bride's kindred are in a higher social status position than the groom's. However, the comparative social position of the two families in the society at large is a very real consideration in this matter. This respect relation overlaps into shame avoidance between the in-laws of opposite sex.

593 There is a variable discipline-respect relationship between ego and his older siblings of the same sex depending upon age disparity, presence or absence of real or adopted parents, and consideration of power and authority. If an older brother has taken

571 607 action is one of reciprocal joking. The joking itself is related to the respect behaviour. The older or senior member (Ol-Sis-Hu) must always joke with the younger or junior (Wi-Yo-Bro) saying he will obtain either a spouse or a sexual partner for the latter. And this is an essential aspect of bərzum; the senior must give something in return for the subservience he receives.

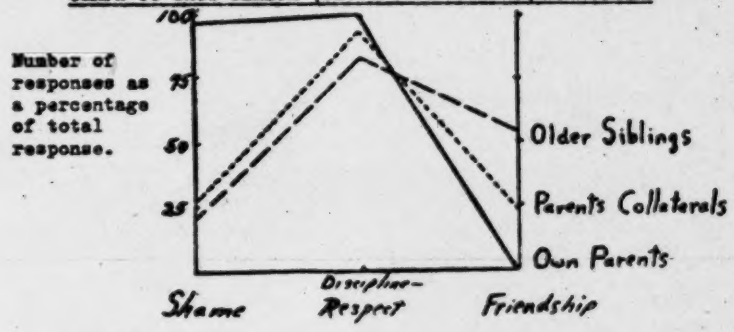
TABLE IV

Responses to Ol-Sis-Hu and Wi-Yo-Bro

	Respect		Joking	
	R	N-R	R	N-R
Ol-Sis-Hu	36	5	35	6
Wi-Yo-Bro	4	36	37	3
sig. level	.01		-	

• 602 It is now possible to make a more summary comment about the nature of the bərzum behaviour norm in the kinship system. It can be said to range on a continuum from shame-respect through discipline-respect to friendship-discipline-respect, represented by three categories of relatives (a) own parents, (b) parent's collaterals, and (c) older siblings. Any of these who assume the own-parents role in relation to ego takes over the expected behaviour

GRAPH TO SHOW BERZUM (DISCIPLINE-RESPECT) CONTINUUM



602 from ego necessarily. It was noted that the behaviour is a response to power and authority and is non-reciprocal. This means that bèrsum is non-reciprocal, not the relationship in which it obtains. Respect ideally moves from junior to senior in a relationship, but as we shall see respect (bèrsum) must be cultivated if it is to flourish.

571 Beyond the operative limits of the kinship system, bèrsum is the essential quality of all relationships in the society which involve power and authority. If the relationship is of a master-servant variety then the subordinate gives bèrsum to the superior, while the superior will totally or partially feed, clothe, house and even obtain a wife for the subordinate (i.e. help with the bride-wealth, or even in some cases find a girl for him). The superior in such a relationship is often referred to as abanjima (father of the house) especially when the subordinate lives in or near the compound of his superior and the superior refers to the subordinate as his tada njima (child of the house).

571 576 To a lesser extent the bèrsum relationship is imbedded in the etiquette system of Kanuri greeting customs. This is called nona which means paying-one's-respects-to a superior. Here, although the bèrsum is only momentary, it symbolises and validates status differences in Kanuri social structure. The rule is simply this: a high status person never goes to call on or greet a lower status person. By following the reverse order, that is the lower status person always calling on or greeting the higher status person, respect is delivered in the proper direction and the lower status individual indicates his recognition of the power and auth-

571 ority of the superior in the society as a whole, thereby validating
576 the status hierarchy of the social structure.

571 In terms of the present analysis bərzum is such an essential quality in the fabric of Kanuri interpersonal relations that it bears closer scrutiny. To do this we can use the method of presentation being followed here and return to the kinship system working out from there to the wider society. The content of the bərzum relationship includes a sense of mutual obligation partially symbolised by the Kanuri concept of "trust" (aman). It is only partial because aman as we shall see has an affective connotation not necessarily implied in the bərzum relationship.

• 602 In the questionnaire results, no differences were obtained from informants as to their behaviour towards patrilateral as compared with matrilateral kin. However, the interviewer also asked the respondants which kin they felt more aman with. In this case a definite discrimination between the descent groups was asked for and the answer was unequivocally in favour of the patrilateral group. The solution to the problem lies in the nature of the word aman (trust). It is not a unidimensional term implying only one kind of attitude, but subsumes within it several different kinds of trust, and it depends upon how the question is phrased which descent group will get the comparatively greater amount of aman in the individual's judgment. If the question is asked barely, with no indication or hypothetical case which might refer to loans or credit or emotional factors, the answer comes back quickly (and this is universal for all strata of society) that there is more aman with the patrilateral group. The reasons given for this choice are also

602 elicited with little difficulty:

[682] [683] It is the father's family that is responsible for the dia (blood-money, compensation to a non-group member and his group for physicalinjuries or death brought about by the activity of own group members), they will support you if you get into trouble, it is from them that you get your property, if you marry and have no money, they will collect it for you, and you don't have to pay it back, but you will help them when asked for other people in the family - they are the mai durbe (king of the families).

Upper class members made the following generalization in their statements about the father's family: they felt that the great utility of the patrilateral group is its readiness to support an individual member when he is in trouble, and of course its eventual material use to him in terms of property.

When informants were asked at some other time about the matrilateral kin group without any reference to the father's family and in the context of a conversation having to do with loans and credit, the answer was similar to the following given by a small hamlet farmer:

> Oh yes, for these things (credit) you must go to your mother's family, they will not refuse you anything, for they feel for you like a mother feels for her child.

Upper class members observed similarly that if summa kalewa (if all was well) then people like their mother's family better, it is more [184] affectionate. They also felt that it might be easier to borrow money from the matrilateral groups but were not as unanimous in this respect as the lower class member (neither class was completely unanimous).

[152] In answer to questions about jealousy (kándulí) differences, all informants agreed that there was much more of this among the patrilateral group. One informant expanded this as follows:

602 If you try to take kare (possessions, property, material wealth) from your father's family as a loan, or for any purpose at all, then they feel that perhaps they will not get it back, and you are trying to get some of the family (pat.) property which by the rules of inheritance is not supposed to come to you, but go to someone else. But the mother's family like you very much, they will give you things, and if you promise to pay back a loan from them they will trust you and wait patiently.

[828] Informants also knew that personality entered into the question, and were always ready to qualify these generalizations about the descent groups with a story, whose moral indicated that a kind and generous man was always so no matter what kind of a kinsman he was, or whether or not he was a kinsman at all.

Thus, leaving aside personality differences, there are two basic kinds of aman (trust), one for each descent group. The patrilateral aman defines the mutual obligations which members of the group experience as members, in the face of non-members, i.e. society at large. For this group aman also means source of my past, present and future, my inheritance, in every sense of the word. An individual has aman with the patrilateral group because they give him much of his social and material security as a human being in society. They will stand behind him in times of trouble and they will ensure that he has the necessary objects with which to sustain his social existence (land, a house, tools, a wife, political membership in the State). Ego can appeal to this group for help; threaten a Kanuri and he immediately thinks of the aman he has with his patrilateral group which he can invoke to meet any oncoming danger. Inheritance is tied into the same concept, for it is the insurance for the individual's future sustenance and material place in the social order. It gives time-depth and perpetuity to his aman with the patrilateral group.

The aman with the matrilateral group (to which Smith refers

171 The aman with the matrilateral group (to which Smith refers[1] 66.
• 602 for the Hausa) is a variety of mutual risk-sharing based on affection and the much more limited scope for conflict found in this less complex relational system.

602 On the face of it, the distinctions within the descent sys-
433 tem would seem to have much significance for the analysis of commercial growth in Bornu. If there is more and easier credit facilities in the interpersonal relationships of the matrilateral group, it would seem as if this might be a useful model of organization for future economic development, which requires credit and loans.

602 A swift look in any direction at functioning social relations
571 in Kanuri society is enough to dispel such a theory. And the answer is
[433] quite simple but important. In the last analysis trust based merely on affection and lack of conflicting interests is not adequate to the task of maintaining the complex interrelationships necessary for the continuity of social life. To obtain a workable social organization of any kind requires power and authority and discipline, and these are patently scarce in the matrilateral structure, or at least much less intensified while they are key aspects of the patrilateral system. Besides this, indeed as an integral part of it, there is the more fundamental distinction of territoriality. Although aman of an affective nature which can involve potential risk-sharing of property is present with the mother's kin group, there is in most cases no inherent social organization in the mother's family which joins her and the rest of her rela-
[591] tives together as a functioning social unit in any one place. The custom
[572] of patrilocal and/or neolocal marriage forbids such an eventuality. By the same token, ordinary friendships beyond the kinship system include varying amounts of this same kind of aman when occurring between social equals.

(1) Smith, M.G. The Economy of Hausa Communities of Zaria, Colonial Research Studies No. 16 (The Colonial Office, London) 1955, p. 47.

571 602 In interpersonal relations in the society at large aman or trust is most often used in the patrilateral sense of the word when social organization is involved. Thus, in the anthropologist's household, one of the members who developed yearnings for the women of the other household members, and was suspected of taking ways, became increasingly estranged from the general corpus of the household personnel. The comments about him, most often muttered under their breaths by the others, were "aman ba", no trust, and "shim ngundu" narrow eyes, i.e. no proper feelings of shame and respect. That is to say, he neglected or rejected the proper rules of trust behaviour which should be practised by a person living in a household unit. Thus aman (trust) in the patrilateral sense is the working mechanism of bàrzum (respect). Bàrzum as a formal or structural behaviour norm can often be tied to nona, to pay one's respects to a superior, but when it includes aman it is a more functional and purposeful interaction and is tied into the successful or unsuccessful operation of interpersonal relations. Consequently, when the two are linked together, i.e. when a respect relationship also involves patri-aman, its neglect or infringement causes a judgment of lack of "proper" respect to be placed on the head of the individual offender who breaks faith. To the Kanuri then, the best respect, the real respect relationship involves aman, and without this essential feature the relationship is more formal than functional. Here again the concept of a continuum is useful in filling out the complex variability of the respect relation. In terms of utility, the respect relation runs from extremely little, which is symbolized in nona, (paying one's respects to a superior), through to aman, (trusting a superior and being loyal to him), in return for the support and maintenance he can bestow. The value of these different aspects of respect both functionally to the

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602 individuals involved and traditionally as a cultural value also increases as simple nona is made more rewarding by the progressive addition of more and more patri-aman.

Joking Relationships (suli)

Joking relationships (suli) among the Kanuri refer to a quality in interpersonal relations wherein the customary behavioural restrictions based on seniority, generation and sex differences are relaxed and a formalised pattern of permissiveness of some kind obtains between the parties.

603 The most diffuse or broadly based joking relationship is that between ego and his grandparents and great-grandparents, if
[855] any of the latter are alive. In many cases Kanuri children are
[591] partially raised by their grandparents, being taken from their moth-
[553] er just after weaning. This is especially true when the child is called after his grandparent which is often the case since naming customs generally bring names from alternate generations down the descent system. The child usually has the most intimate and fondest joking relationship with his namesake grandparent, if this person lives close by or adopts him. When this is not the case, the grandparent residing closest is the person with whom a more intimate
553 joking relationship is established. The naming rule gives no prefer-
602 ence to matrilateral or patrilateral kinship; successive children must be named after and/or adopted by each of the spouse's parents alternatively. Thus neither side must obtain a namesake from the same marriage union twice in a row. The reason given for this custom of alternation is that it helps to prevent conflict and jealousy between a man and his wife as well as between the married couple and

553 their respective kindred and in-laws. There is no rule about which
602 group should take precedence although the comparative social status
of the patrilateral and matrilateral kin seems to be a major factor
603 in the decision. Informants claimed that the child must be taken
[591] away from his grandparents some time before puberty and brought
[593] under the direct control of his parents so that he (or she) may
[867] learn proper respect (bàrsum) because there is no bàrsum, they said,
when there is much suli. Table I indicates that this latter judg-
ment is only an approximation to the overall pattern since 14.9%
of all responses by ego to grandparents indicate the presence of
[602] some respect (bàrsum) behaviour. As a general rule the reciprocal-
ity of the joking relationships between alternate generations of
the kinship system, extending to include the third ascendant and
descendant generations (the yeiya) follows a pattern of more respect
between ego and his grandparents and more freindship and fondness
between ego and his grandchildren.

It is not uncommon to see a grandparent visiting his or her friends always in the company of their little joking partners. As the friends sit down to chat of the latest gossip of the day, the grandchild plays nearby, then comes over and nestles in the grandparent's arms, pulls at articles of dress on his person, or pulls at grandfather's beard, and acts generally in a quietly affectionate manner. The observer is struck more with the genuine fondness and affection of the relationship, at its early stages, than with its so-called joking content. As the child grows older the joking aspect becomes more noticeable. The grandparent will point out a young playmate of the opposite sex and say to him -

603 that is your wife, is it?, or to her - that is your husband, eh?
[152] All the restrictions on any show of emotion with own parents are noticeable by their absence in the affective nature of the grandparent joking relationship with its openly expressible fondness and friendship. That there is some discipline involved is indicated by the fact that the child is very often socialized in a grandparent's
[962] house. One grandparent was observed very patiently taking the left hand of his little namesake out of the food bowl, every time the child attempted to eat with this taboo instrument. One adult informant summed up his own attitudes towards the relationship as follows:

> You may pull your kaka's (grandparent's) beards, or go into his house and take his possessions, and he will not mind - he is happy because his children have borne children. If you have a yeiya (great-grandparent) alive, it is the same with him.

[602] [553] Although the suli (joking) relationship holds for all members of the second and third ascendant and descendant generations it focuses for an individual in its most memorable and frequently emphasized form, between himself and his grandparent-namesake, his
603 chuwuna. Many Kanuri names are convertible from male to female
553 [551] forms and thus, cases of a grandchild named after a grandparent of opposite sex are known. The important point is that the chuwuna (namesake) relationship is most often associated with the practise
553 of grandparent joking relations and possible adoptions. This obser-
571 vation is validated by looking at other chuwuna relationships in the kinship system or between close friends. If a child is named after a father's brother or his father's friend, he and that person have a mildly permissive joking relationship. They address each

605 play with his patrilateral cousins. As in the matrilateral case, if ego changes his joking-wife, the tiu joking relationships shift also in association with the change. That is to say, these joking relationships may change in their personnel from time to time, but are ordered in relation to the adult marriage rules in each separate situation.

(184) Although no attempt was made to measure class differences in the cousin joking relationships, it should be noted here that several informants claimed that the above joking relations were "unbecoming" for good proper behaviour and they did not practise such customs.

567 Outside the kinship system a joking relationship may hold between a master and his slave, although this is usual only when the slave is an entertainer of some kind. Informants denied that it occurred when the slave is merely serving his master in an
571 ordinary work situation. Amongst the various occupations, joking
463 relations obtain between smiths and butchers; barber-doctors and smiths; mallams (koranic teacher-priests) and hunters; kola-nut wholesalers and retailers; dyers and tailors; a builder of mud houses and his labourers; a fire-wood seller and his customers;
614 pepper sellers and kola-nut wholesalers. Joking relations also hold
648 between clans such as Ngala'a and Magumi; Nguma and Tèra; Kuburi and Tèra; Su'urti and Kuburi; or between ethnic groups like Shuwa and Kanuri; Kurdi and Shuwa; Hausa and Fulani; Kanuri and Fulani; Tubu and Monga; Monga and Bèdde; Kanembu and Wasili (Arabs).

571 In the above relationships which seem in all cases to
a 602 cover an area of interrelations involving potential conflicts, the

571 joking takes the form (usually) of the grandparent-grandchild re-
[602] lationship. The younger refers to and addresses the elder as kaka
[601] (grandparent) while the elder may refer to the younger as diwo (grandchild) or address him as kaka. Joking between occupations was observed more frequently than between ethnic groups, while no
[829] inter-clan joking was seen at all. Most people do not know the clan membership of the people they associate with in their everyday life.

Friendship and Fondness Relations (numkam)

572 The friendship and/or fondness relationships include
602 those interpersonal relations wherein ego finds mutual affection, sympathy and community of interests. As a norm or dimension of behaviour it is much less formalized in the kinship system (indeed in society as a whole) when compared with shame, respect and joking relations. These are regarded as fairly distinct aspects of interpersonal relations which involve some kind of a behavioural criterion or marker, like not eating out of the same bowl, or joking
[128] about sexual intercourse, etc. Notwithstanding the possibility of its creation by the anthropologist, rather than the people themselves, as a category of kinship behaviour of the same order as the others, numkam (friendship) seems to be a characteristic of kinship relations as it is of any human situation wherein people live, eat, play, earn their living and feel themselves to make up a unity of some sort.

603 There is a high degree of expressive and affective fondness found in the joking relationships between grandparents and grandchildren which centers, as we have seen, most intensively around the namesake attribute of the same relationship. Because of

573 father's compound to stray no more (his mother and father have never been divorced).

602 Informants always refer to matrilateral relationships as being somewhat affective and allowing of emotional expression and friendship because, they say, "These relatives are like your mother and therefore they love you very much." Such a description is rarely heard from an informant when he discusses patrilateral relationships.

604 In the parent generation there is a tendency for the drop in shame responses which accompany the shift in ego's relationships with own parents to parents' junior collaterals to be accompanied by a small rise in friendship to these relatives. There is also some friendship between ego and his parent's older siblings, but tempered with much respect by ego.

572 602 There is much friendship practised between ego and his collaterals, senior and junior, especially of the same sex as long as the age difference between them is not great. It is primarily from among kin members of the same age that ego chooses his kinship ashirmanzé (literally: his secrets-man, i.e. his most intimate [476] friend) if any of these are taken from among the kin members. They also form one of the natural sources from which ego may draw his sárwa (informal cooperative work group) of 4-10 persons for any piece of work he might require to have done. As in any society ego not only looks to kin members of the same age but outwards to neighbouring compounds and quarters for his friendship ties, his sárwa contributions, and his ashirmanzé.

593 There is a possibility of a strong affection and friend-

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829 on learning how to create as many relationships as possible for himself to cover the inevitable break-ups which occur in present social relations. As a result, to a Western observer, the friendhip relations may seem to have a superficial quality which involves many references to good friends, what they do and will do for ego, with subsequently very little proof of the validity of such claims. Although certainly the emotional content can be and is, in many ways, as real and sincere as in any comparable human situation anywhere. The essential difference here is the institutionalized recognition and acceptance of the brittleness of interpersonal relations as a necessary behavioural aspect of a complex social organisation which has been operating over a wide territory and population through a long history. Our social reality is not so different, but our culture has idealised Damon and Pythias.

Residence Patterns

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[602] Although it is a basic tenet in the present discussion that Kanuri behavioural norms and the texture of interpersonal relations in the total society have their foundations in the kinship system, it must also be realized that the fundamental unit of social organization in which these behaviours operate is the compound or household (fato). This is a walled-in area which encloses a readily
592 identifiable group in the community. The walls are of mud or grass
351 matting depending on the socio-economic level of the householder and the community at large, as well as upon a cheap abundant supply of clay-mud. Magumeri had only one mud walled compound, that of the District Head, while other towns such as Geidam have almost all compounds enclosed with mud walls. The walls are usually about five feet tall, but vary from place to place.

592 However, ego's interests and sense
593 of social membership lie primarily with his agnatic group and are
571 less affected by friendship than social security.
[602]

An example may help to clarify things here. From the genealogical data of four brothers, the following recent family history emerged which, although atypical in its matrilateral emphasis, still illustrates quite graphically how the residence patterns operate through time.

[768] Upon the death of her husband about forty years ago, a woman of Magumeri returned from Nguru in north Bornu in order to live in the compound of her full brother, the head butcher of the town. With her she brought her three sons all of whom had been fathered by
[587] her recently dead husband. She later remarried, leaving the three boys with their Mo-Bro, and subsequently gave birth to another son by the new husband. The three sons of the woman's original marriage grew up in the house of their (childless) Mo-Bro and were taught the butcher's craft.

[463] When the Mo-Bro died leaving no wife, and no heirs, his
[554] sister's oldest son became the head butcher of Magumeri. The second son decided to leave the butcher's craft (a low status occupation) and become a trader in hides and skins. The youngest of the three full brothers, who was crippled in one leg, elected to remain in butchering. The eldest son became head of the household. He married and prospered and now has two wives and three children (by the second wife). The second also married and set up a new compound for himself on the east side of and adjacent to his elder brother's compound. Later, the third brother married and after a short while moved directly to the north and adjacent to his elder brother's compound.

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Several comparable processes to the above were recorded except that the defunct relative whose demise caused the shift in power relations was an agnatic relative. The overall pattern is as follows: a patrilocal extended family residence may break up while the household head is still living to form an identical but often smaller structure near at hand or far away. The mobile member sets up his new compound unit with his own nuclear or polygynous family group as the constituent members. Another and somewhat similar process occurs when a compound head dies leaving several sons in the household. In these circumstances the senior son takes over the headship of his father's compound and assumes an authoritative position over his siblings. But this second variety tends to give way in time to a series of smaller residence groups. That is to say, a group of new households are set up under each sibling as he departs [591] from his senior brother's compound. Thus there is a process in Kanuri residence patterns in which each married man attempts to set up [621] his own household with himself as compound head. However, factors of power and authority tend very often to create superior subordinate relations among groups of households which then become extended household organizations.

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In the Kanuri residence groupings, the most satisfactory organization for the operation of power and authority is the type in which a senior person who is the father or acts like a father to all the members of the compound commands much of the action of the group. As we have seen in the analysis of bərzum its strongest form centres around the relationship of father to son while the relation weakens somewhat as ego relates himself to parent's collater-

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602 als and senior siblings. That is to say, in terms of ego's sensitivity to kinship superiors' ability to command discipline-respect, the data indicates that the father role contains the greatest proportion of authority in terms of ego's responses. This does not mean that father surrogates can never successfully replace the father role for ego, for as we shall see, the role is defined primarily in terms
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593 of functions rather than biological ascription. Thus, if the father-head of the patrilocal extended family organization cannot produce for his subordinate members all the subsistence satisfactions, the clothing, bride-wealth, and status in the community, which they require in return for their subservience, then to that extent the discipline aspect of the bàrzum is impaired. In other words, power will be weakened because the compound head's authority, i.e. his ability to secure performance of his decisions will vary with his ability to make his subordinates sensitive to his authority. Because of his ascribed role as father a man can always expect some bàrzum from his son. However, to make the relationship work he must continually perform the actions which create and maintain subservience.

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571 Thus, in the diagram above of the traditional patrilocal extended family grouping, 1 the son (7) will soon be moving out to form his own compound. The son is at present very sensitive to his father's commands. The father gave him his farm, his bride-wealth, his horse, and at present supplements his income. The son, being the only male heir, stands to gain a comparatively large inheritance plus a political office which he values upon his father's death. Consequently, the son is not going to move his household very far away when he sets up his own compound and is not going to demand

1 [cf. p. 86]

583 This determines
434 that for the majority of the population, marriages take place from
[585] about November to the end of February. The exceptions to this rule occur among those with a steady source of income or access to loans.
583 The agnatic kin group plus own-mother, if she is able, can be counted
602 on to help as well. As we have seen in Chapter IV, exceptions to this traditional custom can be found when a relative is against a young man's marriage because it will deprive the relative of the social and economic advantages of the young man's dependence.

583 The Kanuri say that a man who is not in debt to his friends
585 after contracting and carrying out a marriage has no friends. In other
426 words, for everyone, except the extremely wealthy, it is a mark of one's
572 own social role in a relational network to borrow from friends at the time of one's wedding. Failure to do so is a declaration by implication that the marrying individual does not trust his friends well enough to become obligated to them. His friends may also suspect that he has enough liquid capital to be independent of them (and benevolent superiors). Such action may easily lead to a flurry of attempts to borrow money from the prospective bridegroom as soon as the wedding is over.
583 Finally, a young man may expect and borrow money from anyone, besides
585 the above, to whom he renders service and to whom he gives discipline-
426 respect. Indeed a compound head or any political figure knows that lend-
571 ing and giving money for weddings is a primary method of maintaining subservience of subordinates.

583 In Kanuri society there are two related ways of regarding
585 the cost of carrying out a marriage (male speaking). Firstly, there is the cost of the entire proceedings, including cloth purchases, gifts of sundries, soap, perfumes, oil, a ram, fees to participant friends, entertainers, bridewealth, etc., minus the gifts from the girl's family and

583 584 is arrived at through bargaining done between intermediaries for the husband-elect and the girl's luwali. The primary reason given for this use of intermediaries is that a man should not indulge in argument with his potential father-in-law. The luwali of the girl uses a number of arguments to persuade the suitor to raise the price of the luwaliram. Thus he tells of the qualities of the girl, her family connections, the large number of people to whom the luwaliram must be distributed, i.e. the people who have a claim or an interest in the girl's marriage. He often hints broadly at the gifts which the young man may expect from the girl's family to offset the expense of the payment, in order to assure the suitor that the bridewealth payment is only a returnable token which should be raised in order to add dignity and prestige to the entire affair. Most of it, in all likelihood, he suggests will be returned at the next ceremony (sada'a) on the day of the wedding. The luwali also tries to assure the groom's party that the girl will have a very fine dowry of enamel plates, clothes, pots, pillows, mats, jewellry, etc., which will give the groom much prestige and perhaps even a source of capital. The luwali may complain that he is spending a lot of money on the dowry, which he feels must be compensated by a high bridewealth payment. The husband-elect, on the other hand, tries to point out through his intermediaries how much the marriage expenses in general are costing him and how the entire negotiation may endanger his socio-economic status. However, he must not push such an argument too far or his suit might be considered ill-advised. His best argument is usually a threat of withdrawal, or a feint in that direction, at which point the prices may be lowered somewhat as an inducement to his re-entry into the fray.

[602] The luwaliram payment is distributed by the luwali among the close bilateral relatives of the young girl, although he keeps a major

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584 portion of the money for himself.. The pattern emphasizes the patri-
602 lateral group, especially the relatives living in close association with the luwali who are often as not his agnates. However, the girl's mother, her mother's brother and her mother's own parents, if present or nearby, always receive a small part of the luwaliram.

587 With increased age and number of divorces, marriages become more and more an individual matter between the male and the female participants and the woman tends to take over the luwaliram payment for herself. She may be living with relatives at the time who often serve as her intermediaries and collect the payments for her. In this case she gives them a small amount of the luwaliram payment.

584 With the completion of the luwaliram payment the final ar-
585 rangements for the marriage are settled by the parties. The day of the wedding is set in the period of the next few weeks as well as the place of formalization and the price of the sada'a, or second and final payment of the bridewealth. During the time of the luwaliram payments the man tries to iron out the details of the wedding party. How many drummers will there be? How many people are coming (if the girl lives in another town)? What will be the means of conveyance for her and her dowry to the house of the groom? Will many of the wedding party besides the girl's mother stay for the one week confinement period (if she is a virgin)? A score of such questions and decisions about them are usually discussed and agreed upon at this time.

584 If the marriage does not take place after the payment of the
1091 luwaliram, generally speaking it can be expected that litigation of some kind will result. If the man breaks it off himself, then the girl's family (or the woman) usually feel aggrieved and try to keep some or even all of the payment. Contrarily, if the girl's family breaks off the wedding,

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586 explanation of the matter is that his payments merited him more use of the woman than he has received. However, after a year or so (varying with the amount of the bridewealth, the reasons for divorce, the age and number of divorces the woman has previously had) and increasing with time (i.e. use), the husband's claim upon the returnability of his bridewealth diminishes. After a year and a half or so he can reclaim very little, except in proven cases of adultery, where he collects a money compensation awarded by the court. On the other hand, if during the first year of marriage, it can be proven by the girl and her family that the man has given offence or broken the rules, the marriage can be dissolved and the bridewealth forfeited.

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[693] In practice, the system can be manipulated to the detriment of unsuspecting persons. One pathetic individual, who had been enticed into marriage with a virgin, found that the girl's grandmother with whom she had been living was against the marriage. Every time he left town for a day or two the girl's dowry was removed from the girl's hut and taken back to her luwali's compound across town where her grandmother lived. The husband had to threaten court action to get it back. The excuse used was that the girl's family was afraid of thieves. Gossip in the town judged that it was the grandmother who was hoping for a dissolution of the marriage. Townspeople claimed that she was trying to anger the husband by taking the dowry and the girl when he went away and only returning the girl when he came back. The matter soon came to a head when the husband decided to move to the city and take his wife with
[691] him. The girl's family disagreed and the matter went to court. The luwali and the grandmother accused the husband of mistreating the girl and claimed that the marriage should be dissolved with forfeiture of the bridewealth. The husband defended himself by saying that he had

583 only been married two months and had received no use of his capital out-
593 lay, therefore he would only give the girl back if his total marriage
602 expenses were returned. He calculated the amount to be twice the bride-
586 wealth. The judge ruled that since he had only slapped the girl a few
695 times there were no grounds to the charge of mistreatment and the husband should take the young girl to the city with him and try to straighten out his marriage difficulties.

The girl's family then told her to go to the city but not play the role of dutiful wife. Her luwali bragged publicly that she would be returned quite willingly by the husband inside of a week (it was actually three weeks before the girl did return). That is to say, it was predicted by the luwali that the husband would break up the marriage and send the girl out of his house, thereby forfeiting the bride-wealth. Once in the city the girl cooked badly, quarrelled with her co-wife, emptied the poor man's prayer pot when she needed water, and in a hundred little ways made his life miserable. However, she committed no one great offence which the husband felt he could legally get hold of as a respectable person.(1)

In the end, he lost his temper and told her to get out and go back to her family. Before doing so, he recounts how he first gave her a sound beating in order to get at least that much satisfaction from such a material loss in his investment; for in sending her home he was breaking up the marriage and thereby forfeited the bridewealth.

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593 It will be noticed in the above example that the independent

691 (1) The range of complaints for which people will seek adjudication varies
184 with socio-economic and rural/urban status. It is an upper class norm to keep most marital problems private unless it is absolutely necessary to go to court, while in the hamlets a woman was observed who, with her agnatic kin as supporters, brought her husband to court for having had sexual intercourse too frequently and wanted the judge to limit his advances by a ruling of the court.

587 independent and dominated the marriage completely. A situation she
567 found easier because of her cousin's low status and his general tim-
593 idity as a person.

582 One of the primary functions of cousin marriage is its maintenance and strengthening of already existing relationships. One informant exemplified this generalization by saying that he wanted to practise cousin marriage because the girl was his kãrami (younger sib-[illegible]g), the dauther of his Fa-Ol-Bro. Therefore she would never tell embarrassing things about him or complain of him outside his own group. This results from the fact that her agnatic relations, to whom she
(602) would presumably gossip, are his as well. In other words, by contracting this kind of marriage the informant was avoiding any intimate relations with an agnatic group other than his own, and he liked the idea. All informants agreed upon the tougher texture of such marriages. One informant explained that he was marrying his cousin (his Fa-Bro-Da) so that he could maintain close relations to his parents with whom he had
(606) ceased to live. He said that his father, although he could ordinarily never enter a hut alone with his son's wife, could now do so because she was also his brother's daughter. The same thing occurs in other marriage taboos with in-laws. Thus the restrictions on marriage behaviour are relaxed, and the total amount of interaction among the affines is much greater and friendlier while no new relationships are created.

581 In practice, although universal lip-service is paid to the
582 desirability of cousin marriage, its low incidence indicates its low popularity among a majority of the people.(1) In discussing the matter

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(1) The nature of cousin marriage contraction, i.e. at puberty ceremonies, plus the fact that it is mostly from older men that records of cousin marriages are obtained, suggests that this custom has been declining in practice in the last two decades.

581 In discussing the matter
582 further, informants always point out the relative difficulty of divorce
602 in such marriages as well as the lack of personal independence. The woman's relatives, who are also ego's (male speaking), always try to patch up the differences between her and ego, and scold him for not being "good" to his little sister. On the other hand, the move towards semi-independence, signalled by marriage, is restricted by cousin marriage. In-law avoidance which draws a man to his wife, and she to him as a social unit set apart from their own descent backgrounds, is much weakened in this kind of union, which makes it more difficult for a man to express any individual independence of his kin group.

582 The next type of marriage to be considered is the nyia kam
557 rukatabe (marriage of pleasure). The expression means marriage to a man of wealth or high status, i.e. marriage with one of his daughters or with one of the girls over whom he has rights of marriage dispensation. The closer the girl comes to being the actual biological daughter of the wealthy and/or high ranking man, the more highly valued the marriage becomes. The term also describes marriage to a wealthy and/or high ranking woman.

One common form of this marriage occurs in the following manner. A person subservient to a powerful household head may need a wife and make this known to the household head, as he invariably does, along with all of his other requirements. The superior then give his subordinate a girl from among the marriageable girls of the household, to whom the household head stands in the relation of luwali. By so doing, the household head strengthens his ties with his subordinate by extending their relation to include father-in-law/son-in-law.(1) It will

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(1) Ego always behaves to his wife's luwali in the same manner as he does to his wife's biological father, whether the roles are occupied by the same person or not.

3. Length of Marriage

593 The longer a couple remain together, the greater the intimacy that grows up between them. Marriages that often begin with the male in the dominant role, leaven gradually with the years. The woman comes to know more and more of her husband's hopes, fears, ambitions, sorrows, and responsibilities. As this occurs she assumes more and more of the role of trusted friend and partner to his decision making, and finally a point may be reached where the man will admit confidentially that he would not make any major decision without consulting this particular wife, because she is so used to sharing in his life that she would be hurt and angry if not consulted. After a very long period of such a partnership, a man who makes a decision against his wife's judgment, usually has quite a battle on his hands.

593 With the longer term of residence in the husband's com-
592 pound and the birth of children, especially sons who will continue the
602 patrilineage into the next generation and maintain the household and their mother in her old age, the wife slowly begins to shift her primary affiliations from her own agnatic group over onto the household organization of her husband. Along with this shift the husband's agnatic group, especially the son (s), feel that the household organization includes as a primary senior participant, their mother who by formal definition is, of course, an affinal relation in the household, but who through long years of residence in the compound of her husband, has come to be identified as one of its basic, stable, human components.

593 This variety of long term marriage is more common among the
[565] upper ranks of society where more women tend to remain longer with
[595] their husbands, than among the peasant classes. Usually only one wife is involved, even if there are others. This is often accompanied by a

593 This is often accompanied by a
595 more rapid turnover in other wives who tend to resent the close re-
586 lationship of the longer term wife with the common husband.

4. Status of Wife's Family

592 Among marriages where the woman or girl has come from a
565 higher ranking family than the man's, the woman has a potential lever which she may use to ameliorate male dominance. She realises that her husband's connection to her family is one of the foundations of his social status and ease of divorce makes her connecting function somewhat tenuous. On the other hand, her family may be interested in maintaining their relationship with her husband, and thus attempt to limit her behaviour to a position more in line with cultural ideal of submissiveness, in order to keep her husband satisfied, as well as honouring their own positions as givers of not just wives but of "good" wives.

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5. Personality Factors

593 Needless to say, the particular personality make-up of the
156 husband and wife helps determine whether or not the traditional pattern of male dominance is possible. Fearful, timid, submissive men do not make strong, dominating husbands, while independent, strong-willed women do not easily become subservient, humble and docile wives. The cultural pattern may be reacted to in different ways. It is anxiety provoking to those men who fail, or are afraid of being unable to dominate, while it may serve as an outlet for aggression and hostility on the part of disappointed men who have failed elsewhere in their lives.

6. Socio-Economic Status of the Husband

593 As was noted above, a man needs a wife to cook his food and
557 return hospitality, as well as to provide food for men who have no wives, which helps create obligatory relationships for the male. The

597 [565] population of Bornu. The practice seems more frequent among the upper classes of society where the young child and his growing ability to contribute services to the household are a less vital consideration. [603] As noted in the last chapter the most frequent destination of adoptions is the grandparent and if possible the namesake grandparent. Informants gave, as one reason for this practice, the claim of fondness-affection which the grandparent holds for the child, especially when there is a namesake relationship between them. Another reason, less often reported but still important, is the inability of the young child to behave in the culturally prescribed manner to parents. That there is some validity to this latter view is indicated by the fact that the custom of adoption is not permanent but temporary. It is arranged before the birth of the child, begins just before weaning, and ends [591] around the time of puberty. That is to say, the child returns to his parent's home when he is more able to conform to the social requirements of parent-child, especially father-child relations. Whether this is the reason for adoptions is difficult to say, certainly it is one effect or result of the custom.

597 601 In non-grandparent adoptions the person adopting the child is called by the correct kinship term. If there is no kinship term, the male head of the house is generally addressed as Aba (father), and referred to in the same way or as Aba njima (father of the house), while his wives are addressed and referred to as bawa (Fa-Sis). If there is some special relationship, such as a common name between the 597 child and the compound head, the proper term will be used. At all times 602 during his adoption the child is made aware of his status. He knows who his real parents are, whether or not they are alive and well, where they live and what they do, and who and what his relations are to other people in terms of his real father and mother.

861 We have never seen anyone hit a small child, but 158.

> the warnings are frequent. The "boogy-man" threat is more often used as a warning. For example, last month a group of travelling entertainers brought a very large, ugly hyena to town ... apparently Kachella gana was shown the thing from a distance, and ever since the hyena has been used as a deterrent to investigating the contents of medicine bottles, or venturing beyond the compound door. It works, although Kachella is inclined to laugh somewhat incredulously. (1)

Continuing with the same excerpt, it will be noticed that positive as well as negative learning is begun early and definite, patient teaching by socialising adults is a normal part of every day's activities for the young child:

> A plate of food is on the floor of the hut gathering flies. The grandmother says to her little adoptive grandson, "Kachella, pick the plate up. Now take it over there. Be careful, there is food on the plate. Now take that other plate and cover the food over (plates are made of grass). That's right, very good." The operation which would have taken the grandmother a second has been carried out only after two minutes of patient instruction to the child who could not yet speak more than a few words.

858 The inception of sex roles begins with the onset of child-
302 hood and the end of weaning. The boys are tada gana (small boys) and
[858] wear the appropriate small smock and begin to have their heads shaved
[602] in the child hair style of the father's agnatic group. This small boy's hair style often depicts the political affiliations of the father's agnatic group and/or its territorial origins. Thus all the household groups connected to a political leader or coming from a particular
[184] town may share the same small boy's hair style. Some lower class informants in the large urban centre stated that they used whatever hair style they pleased for their small boys when it was observed that no rule seemed to be followed.

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302 After weaning, the girls are fero gana (small virgin girls)

(1) Excerpt from correspondence by Diana Cohen with the Institute of Child Study at the University of Toronto (1956).

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[586] The value placed upon maintenance of connection with her own family after marriage is given by women as one of the reasons for divorce - "he would not let me visit my family" - which indicates that this value is somewhat in conflict with the other value attributes of adult female behaviour during marriage. In some marriages of long duration and much mutual trust, the woman's visits to her relatives were observed to be a normal, accepted and non-conflicting part of her role as wife to her husband. However, most men are somewhat reluctant to allow their wives to visit relatives and try to discourage such activity. High ranking persons send along a trusted servant to remain with or near their wives during the entire term of
[152] absence from the compound. One informant, by no means an exception, became incensed because he heard that his wife (age about thirty-five, married and divorced several times before) who was travelling alone to Maiduguri to visit a sister, had stopped for two days in an intermediate town to visit other relatives and friends. A former husband of the woman lived there and the present husband was extremely worried lest his wife was having a licentious time while away.

Old Age

886 Old age is signalled by white hair for both sexes. Even though sexual potency may remain, this outward sign of white hair identifies the coming of the last period of life for both men (chiari,
888 old men) and women (kamursu, old woman). In both sexes old age means the relinquishing of some of the duties of adulthood though the man continues longer in his adult role than the woman. This is due to the increasing difficulty which an old woman finds in obtaining a husband if she has been widowed or divorced in later years. If she has a son he is expected to keep her in his compound; if not, she may

463 554 tions are within larger organizations. However, this comparison suggests that to young western educated Kanuri there is very little choice to make between whether or not they would work as an independent entrepreneur, or within some larger organization.

Birth Ascription

554 Although Kanuri society is, and always has been, a fluid one in which people could (within limits) move up and down the status hierarchy, rank is also judged in terms of an individual's birth into a par- [613] ticular bilateral family. Because of the greater importance of the agnatic group, its status in the society determines to a much larger degree than any other what birth status is accorded to the person.

Several factors, fixed and variable, add to or subtract from [428] the birth status. A fixed factor is the individual's birth order. The eldest son (maji) has a higher status than his brothers for it is known that he is heir to his father's compound and thus to much of his social position. However, this can vary. If the father is very old and his children very young, then a brother of the father will be regarded as the logical heir to the compound as its authoritative head, thus lowering the effect of his young nephew's maji status.

554 Despite birth order and the inheritance factors affecting it, • 602 one of the first questions asked about a stranger entering a community [123] is, "who is his father?". The political leaders of Magumeri refused to allow the writer to hire a "wandering minstrel" as a water boy during the first few weeks of the field trip because, as they said, "no one knows who his father is." That is to say, his original place in the social organization, his legal unity with an agnatic group which would answer for him and make him a responsible person, was unknown. Thus he

554 602 was considered inappropriate as a servant and household member to a powerful newcomer to the community.

Matri-kin do not give a man much ascribed birth status one way or another. However, the matri-kin often aid the individual and if they are a powerful high status group in the society, he may derive some benefits from this relationship. But these rewards must be realised before this ascribed status is worth anything to ego in the eyes of others.

The importance of birth status was made plain during the gathering of genealogical data. A well known "arriviste" in Magumeri, who served as the District Head's right hand man and principal link with the urban community, gave a completely trumped-up genealogy which included, patrilineally many antecedents who had been the horsed servants (ko'una) of well known nobles of late nineteenth and early twentieth century Bornu. Only later, when crosschecking some of the material, was it discovered that this informant was the son of a man who used to tend camels for their owners in the Maiduguri market and that he, himself, had started life as a gatherer and seller of bush grass for horse fodder. His faked genealogy reveals his sensitivity to his low status background and his desire to give a newcomer the impression of continuity regarding his origins. His own rank at the time of the interview was that of horsed servant to the District Head of Magumeri, so that the faked genealogy indicated his desire to create for himself a family background of similar status to his present one.

554 602 156 Along with other explanations (see below pp.225 -228 , arziyi) birth ascription is also used to describe the reasons for success or failure at any given role, especially among the high ranks of society where improper behaviour can be attributed to the person's rise from a

554 lower level. A high born, successful chief explained the improper, dis-
602 reputable behaviour of another chief by claiming that this sort of thing
[156] was not surprising behaviour from the son of a slave. At the peasant level, birth status can count as well in raising or lowering an individual in the eyes of his fellows. A man is given higher status because his father is rich or is a powerful Koranic mallam, while it may be whispered of another that his mother was a pagan, or his father was a blacksmith, thus lowering his status in the eyes of others.

565 As in most complex stratified societies, birth in Bornu into
602 any one level determines to a large measure what range up or down of
554 status positions an individual is likely to achieve in his lifetime.(1) There is a much higher chance that high status positions are occupied by the sons of high status persons rather than the sons of peasants.
[178] Western education and the plethora of jobs opening up is latterly crea-
[648] ting a more widely mobile society, but it was British policy at the beginning of the colonial period to educate the sons of chiefs. The advantages of this policy were soon perceived by the leaders of the society.
[871] Consequehtly, a large proportion of the young western educated group are
[369] sons of the traditional political leaders. There is no conflict over this tendency from the rural population, who still do not value western education very highly, although rumblings of resentment are heard in
565 the large urban centre. At the peasant level many of the craft workers
463 in Magumeri, the potters, dyers, blacksmiths, calabash makers and the
602 other craftsmen, are from kin groups that have engaged in these industries "duk" (right back through time), for as long as any of them can remember. However, except for the potters (females) and blacksmiths,

(1) cf. Lipsett, S.M. and Bendix, R., Social Mobility and Occupational Career, American Journal of Sociology Vol. LVII (March 1952) pp. 494-504.

565 all the crafts have members who have decided to enter these activities
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602 during their own lifetime from family backgrounds in which the dry season activity has been quite different.

554 On the other side of the question, there has always been room in Bornu for the ambitious climber. Historically, the use of slaves, servants and apprentices, rather than potentially jealous, conniving relatives in the social, political, and economic organization, [558] has left much room for the discounting of birth status. Moving from one status to another, if it is a better one, is considered a good thing while moving down the status grades is explained as kwanzèko (literally: hunger pushes him), i.e. he was forced into it by circumstances. Related to this is the Kanuri belief that status, to be preserved, must be validated. It is not enough to be born the son of a District Head; the individual must prove by his behaviour, both before and after he obtains the status, that he is a good chief, or a [558] good mallam, or a good dyer or farmer. If this is not the case, then birth status can be a hollow thing which becomes a means of derision and criticism to be used against a man by his fellows.

In summary, the Kanuri society is not classified neatly by ascribed birth statuses. There are other dimensions of rank which modify and change this biologically given status. Thus birth, although extremely important, is only a rough guide and not a precise measure of a man's status in the social organization at any particular point in time.

Wealth

556 The Kanuri differentiate among individuals as to their wealth. This dimension of stratification runs from ngudi (a poor man) to galèbu

631 Another good example of this point was observed in the field.
661 The DH of Magumeri, Digma, had obtained a Village Area Headship in Damaturu District for his younger (full) brother in 1944, while he was DH of Damaturu District. His younger brother had been extremely high-handed in the administration of his Village Area and was difficult to bring under control. The brother was finally deposed in 1949, after Digma had been sent to another District and a new DH had taken over Damaturu District. When Digma was made DH of Magumeri in 1952, he made no move to install his younger brother as a Village Area Head (Lawan). He told the writer that it was his intention not to do so in the future because his brother was a "bad man" who oppressed his villagers if he got the chance, and such misdemeanors reflected back on himself as the head of
[602] the District. In the politics of Bornu, the "unity of siblings" is tempered by the requirements of office.

The N. A. Officials in the District

634 Local representatives of the various branches of the N. A.
647 are stationed in the District Capital. These include (in Magumeri) a District Chief Scribe and his assistants, a veterinary mallam, a hides and skins mallam, an adult education mallam, an agricultural field assistant, the Junior Primary School Headmaster, Arabic teacher, and student teacher, between three and five N. A. Messengers, two to four N. A. policemen, a prison warder, and finally a Muslim Judge (Alkali) for the District court, and his retinue of followers. This list may be expanded or contracted from one District to another, depending upon the number of
[178] civil service branches that are represented in the area. Today the tendency is towards expansion of these services and thus expansion of the personnel stationed out in the "bush." These officials are paid salaries by the N. A. and live in one ward of the District capital (away from the

000 season.

Craft Production

467 621 The outline given at the beginning of the chapter has indicated the general organisation of crafts in Bornu. Each village having several of the same variety of craftsmen has a ward devoted to this craft under a headman. Thus Magumeri Village has a ward for butchers, dyers, potters, makers of millet beer, string makers, and calabash makers. [443] Goods produced by crafts not present in Magumeri are obtained 433 through the market. In analytical terms the Kanuri craft industry is characterised by its simple technology, its cottage industry social structure and its relation to outside competition.

Only the simplest tools are needed to produce almost everything made in Bornu and the materials for these can be obtained locally. Methods of production are slow and laborious. Thus a blacksmith makes about three to five hoes per day and a dyer colours only five or six robes on a busy day. Again a potter's weekly production runs from ten [177] to twenty pots, depending upon the size. The chief exceptions to this [294] are the Singer sewing machines, used universally by tailors to make [402] clothes, and the few milling machines used in Maiduguri.

438 Craft production is carried on in small groups and almost [602] always inside the household of the craft worker. Sometimes a group of craftsmen work together in their ward, especially when they are agnatic kinsmen. However, each owns the result of his own labour. A man's day in craft work is spent within the confines of his own household or closeby in the house of a neighbour who practises the same craft. Thus the locus of craft work, family life, and often male agnates are all the [294] same. In one exceptional case in Magumeri, a cloth seller has invested in three Singer sewing machines and has tada njima who tailor for others

442 572 markets. The nuts are sold to any kola-nut retailer (bakama) who wishes to buy them, but Ajimi named thirty-five of these whom he considered to be "friends" and more regular customers than others. At the same time 442 they buy from other and bigger wholesalers.(1) Retailers also use stan- 452 dards of quality as well as price in their buying discriminations, but 572 are interested even more in obtaining a credit relationship with their supplier. To his thirty-five "regulars", which include four consanguinal kin, Ajimi does extend credit if requested and this is fairly often. He does not give credit to a stranger, a man he does not consider a "friend", i.e. with whom he has had little contact. This credit can mount up and if several debtors leave for other places in Bornu, Ajimi can conclude his selling trip with a loss rather than a gain. This happened to him in July, 1955, when he reportedly lost £12.0.0 on one kwando of kola-nuts. The people who owed him money all seemed to be moving around the country at the time and he was left with a lot of bad debts from retailers who had moved off to other parts of Bornu.

442 When asked specifically, Ajimi replies that Alkali Bukar is 571 his mai gida, but when describing the relationship in his own words he does not use the term. Instead, he repeatedly refers to himself as the tada of the Alkali and says that this person is "like his father". [602] That is to say, although the mai gida relationship can be used to describe what happens between Ajimi and his Fa-Ol-Bro, it is more often used when the relationship is not truly consanguinal.

Ajimi is quite prepared to move into a barzum relationship with any of the four big traders from whom he buys if this could be arranged profitably between them. Indeed, Ajimi is very much on the look-

(1) Ajimi only sells one kwando per trading trip, while others distribute anywhere from two to six.

177 441 duced new wants in consumer goods, and encouraged the spread of cash cropping and native middlemen to fill roles as distributors of western products, and as buyers of cash crops at the village level.

178 648 642 However, the Bornu Emirate under the British was not the same article as its 19th century predecessor. Its boundaries were now permanently delimited and required no great responsibility on the part of the local people to defend or expand. The military power of the Shehu and control of "foreign affairs" with other Sudanic military powers had now been taken over by the British, who performed these functions in accordance with the imperial policies of the colonial government of England. Indeed the need for militarism all but vanished since the Bornu political organization and territory were now dependent upon the position and policy of Great Britain in world affairs.

The policies of indirect rule created a climate of control wherein the previous cultural life could continue; however, because of the intrusion of the British administration into the top of the society as a controlling caste who were supposed to rule through local authorities, there occurred a potential weakening of the indigenous political [182] organization. Although a high degree of integration of law, religion and social organization remained, and all functioned to support authority, there were no other authorities at the top of Kanuri society. Unlike the authorities in the traditional society, the British had different values and goals. Because both traditional standards of performance and goals and the new ones are both enforceable, new conflicts have become possible in the contemporary society, especially in the political sphere.

• 602 571 In order to place kinship in a larger social context, behaviour associated with kinship has been categorized under four somewhat

602 overlapping areas of norms of behavior, each of which includes kin and
571 non-kin relationships. These are, namely, shame-avoidance (nungu), dis-
[183] cipline-respect (bèrzum), joking (suli), and friendship (numkan). The mutual expectations accompanying these norms of behavior are the "warp and woof" of Kanuri interpersonal relations. Or to put it another way, they are the building blocks upon which the Kanuri social structure maintains itself as an ongoing system.

This is especially true of the bèrzum relationship. The Kanuri social structure is hierarchical and feudal, and in order to accomplish the tasks necessary to any human society within this kind of organizational framework, the Kanuri require a multitude of diffuse social relations arranged into chains of superior/subordinate relationships. The rules governing behavior within these superior/subordinate relations are encompassed by the concept or norms of bèrzum and thus this particular set of mutual expectations is of central importance to the perpetuation of Kanuri society in its present form.

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591 Some of the dynamics of interpersonal relations are apparent in the residence patterns. Because a social structure is placed in time, birth, maturation and death continually create changes in personnel, as well as in their roles and aspirations. As we have seen, this can affect Kanuri residence associations in two ways. A man may desire to set up his own household and thus hive off from the patrilocal residence to
[592] initiate a residence group under his own direction. Again, a father or senior man of the patrilocal compound may die, leaving a group of siblings under the direction of a senior sibling. This also tends through time to break up into smaller residence units which are on the way potentially to becoming patrilocal extended households.

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592 These structural features are in their turn functions of

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power and authority relations within the organization of each residence groupings. This brings us back to bərzum, for where the members of a residence grouping are obtaining the proper receipts for their subservience, their discipline-respect, then no matter what structural cleavages and conflicts are present the organization remains intact. If, however, the suborindates in the residence association see themselves as not receiving enough for their discipline-respect, or envisage more desirable receipts elsewhere, either through independence or a transfer of their subordination, then cleavages in the residence structure emerge and the group splits up.

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The discussion of marriage has served to illustrate Kanuri attitudes and behaviour within contractual relations in which goods and services are exchanged between persons and groups. Bridewealth is given by the man and his group of relatives and friends to the girl and her group. The closer the marriage is to being the woman's first, the more likely it is that her luwali (dispenser of marriage rights) and kin [426] group take the bridewealth payments rather than the woman herself. Men borrow from relatives, friends, and superiors to obtain the money for marriage expenses. Thus a man's social relational network in Bornu is an important part of his capital reserve.

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The Kanuri classify marriages into two major categories, virgin or first marriage (female speaking) and marriage with a woman who
581 has been married before. Marriages are further sub-divided on the basis
593 of the kinds of relationships established by the wedding. The relationship between the man and woman may entail the seclusion of the wife
[565] within the compound (nyia kulle). This is not strictly an either/or category but rather a matter of degree, since all Kanuri men like to see their wives remain in the compound as much as possible. However,

554 828 829 within this structure. The higher the status of an individual, the more arziyi he has, and the success of any one individual either in moving from one role to another, or in performing any given role also indicates the extent of his arziyi.

631 The Kanuri political system has been described in terms of the organization of power and authority in increasingly scaled social structures starting with the extended household organization and 621 ending with a discussion of modern political parties. Any local residence group in Bornu is potentially a larger political unit either in the form of a ward within a town or as a separate hamlet in the bush. This unit resembles an extended family organization but may include non-kin as well as kin members who are all subordinate in some way to the senior male of the residence association. We have used the term [602] extended household organization to describe this flexible unit. The relation of all subordinates to the senior member is similar to that between a father and his sons and non-kin as well as kin members 621 bring their wives to this unit at the local level. If the extended 557 household organization head can maintain the subordination of his fol- [622] lowers, then he is on the way to becoming a "big" man. This can eventually lead to his attainment of the political position of Hamlet Head or Ward Head (Belama). This achieved status is then stabilized through inheritance.

621 571 At the local level, the extended household organization applies to a territorial unit of closely contiguous compounds each with its own head but with some form of subordination to the head of the larger unit. As we have seen, in other sections of the political organization and in the economic organization this kind of superior/subordinate relationship may be spread out to include men not living